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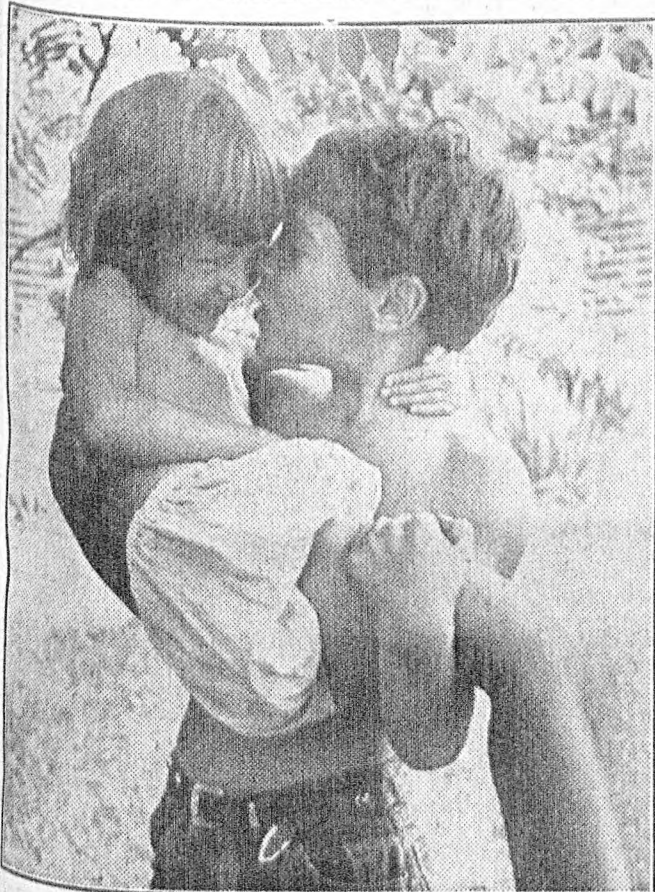
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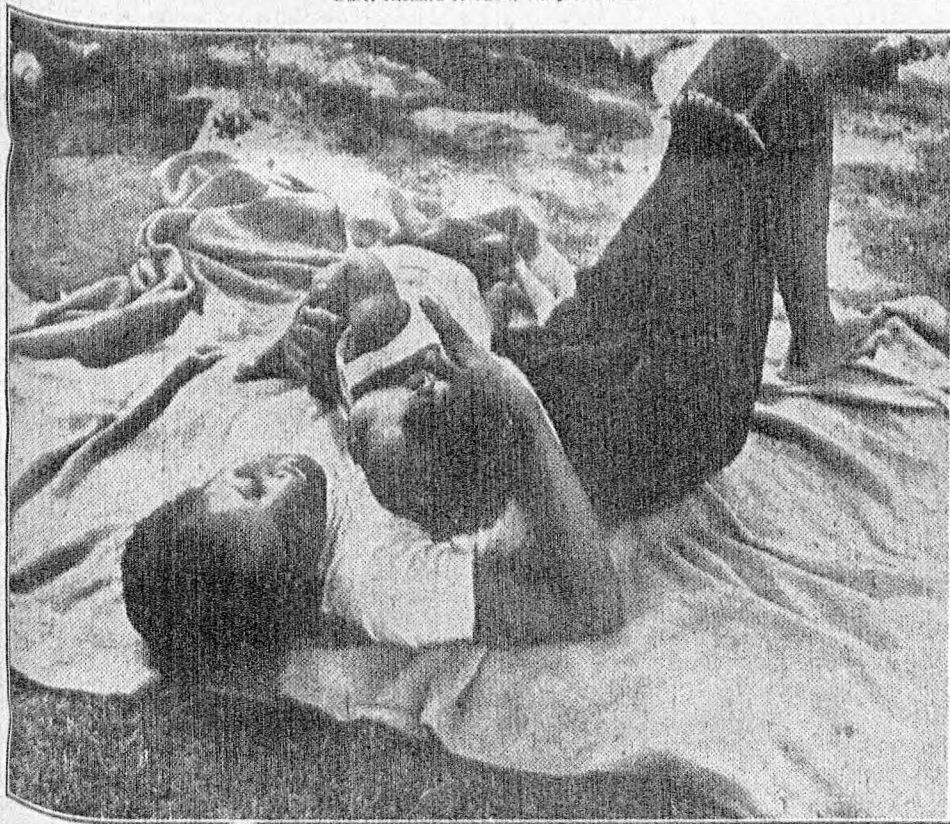
PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,053 August 31, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)



USA, Richard Avedon, Harpers Bazaar.



USA, Leon Levinstein.

These photographs are from The Family of Man exhibition. See page six.

Leslie Hale, MP, reports from Siberia, EN ROUTE TO CHINA

Irkutsk, Siberia.
August 16.

CHINA not yet. Storms over Siberia have delayed us, and in the early hours of this morning we were forced back to the aerodrome from which we had put off some little time previously.

In the meantime, having acquired nothing to report in transit, except that Russia remains to me the eternal enigma, I can repeat the opinion of two valued and experienced friends whom I met in Moscow, who are convinced that there are clear indications of a new era, in which Socialism will replace Communism, and which will see a steady democratic and liberal tendency slowly develop. Be it so!

One puzzle, indicative of the difficulty of drawing any conclusions, was the complete absence of bicycles in Moscow's wide and admirable streets. Why?

"This," said the Tory, "shows clearly the economic dry rot of Communism. The people can't afford such luxuries."

"Nonsense," said the realist, "if you study weather conditions in Moscow you will find that you could hardly hope to use a bicycle for six months of the year."

"Drive!" replied the fellow traveller. "This is indicative of the great work of national transport. Workers can travel to and from their work at so cheap a price that it would be silly to cycle."

We asked a lady Communist. "It is just a national custom," she answered. "They ride in the country but not in the towns!"

But she knew we were leaving that night and the fellow traveller knew it was holiday week. What is the true answer?

The one thing noticeable above all others in Moscow is the wealth of its new buildings. In particular we admired the vast and attractive University building completed in 1954, with its magnificent panorama over the city; the great new circular sports stadium being attractively situated in an almost circular bend of the river, in the foreground.

The river has had twelve new bridges since the war.

These notes are written at Irkutsk not far from the enormous Baikal Lake, both names closely associated with revolution and revolutionaries. Near here were some of the old Siberian prisons and detention camps.

It was a terribly poor place in those days and has no great air of prosperity today, some

ON BACK PAGE

SUEZ: A CHALLENGE TO HONEST PEOPLE

'Threats of force wrong twice over'

By ROY SHERWOOD

LET all honest people ask themselves, irrespective of nationality or political allegiance, what their attitude would be if this dispute were with a country known to be in possession of a stock of atomic weapons and hydrogen bombs.

It would be foolish to expect everybody to see this issue as the pacifist sees it. But everybody can see that there is something "not quite nice"—not to say disgusting—about the use of force or threats of force against someone considered obviously weaker.

Within an hour of the end of the London Suez Canal Conference Sir George Young, spokesman for the Foreign Office, described the existing position as grave and likely to become graver.

Since then, it has been announced that President Nasser is willing to meet the five-nation committee appointed to transmit to him the conclusions subscribed to by 18 of the 22 nations represented in London as well as a full report of the proceedings and what may be termed the minority proposals.

Still full of danger

It is also known that the Egyptian President has made his acceptance subject to the condition that it does not commit Egypt to any specific course of action, and that the talks are not limited to the London proposals for international control over the Canal. Egypt's ideas, he says, must also come within the discussion.

Even if this reservation is accepted without demur, it is true enough that the position remains full of danger. And its seriousness is not lessened by the positively irresponsible attitude, since the close of the conference, of some of our firebrands.

It is deplorable that, with so much at stake, there should be an editor capable of gleefully announcing "The Heat is On," and another featuring an article in which certain members of the House of Commons are pilloried because they are not blind to Egypt's legal rights.

Already, too, facts are being distorted. So let us begin by calling attention to three distortions which are likely to interfere with a sane judgment of the merits of the case.

Three distortions

The first came early on, when the orders to the canal staff accompanying the nationalisation announcement were misrepresented by leaving out a point of crucial importance.

The decree had said that all employees would be retained and none could leave work except with the permission of the new Canal Authority; and that every contravention would be punishable with imprisonment in addition to denying the person concerned any right to compensation or end-of-service gratuity.

What was not reported was that these penalties apply only to people who "walk out" without handing in their resignation and giving whatever notice their contract stipulates—generally one month.

A plainly justified warning, without which the old company could have brought the canal to a quick standstill by simply ordering the walk-out of the staff, was thus made to look like a violation of human rights.

The second, of more recent date, occurred in connection with the expected shortage of pilots for which the old company hopes.

Nahib Yunes, of the new Canal Board, was alleged to have threatened that French and British ships would be placed at the end of the queue if the pilots of their nationalities quitted their jobs.

What he had really said was that Egypt "could not be held responsible for delays if these pilots left or failed to return from leave."

And as it is known that the Egyptian Embassies in a number of countries are anxiously trying to find suitable pilots, it is clear that this is really a point of economic warfare instituted by the old company, without the faintest resemblance to aggressiveness or deliberate discrimination on Egypt's part.

The third, in a less direct clash of evidence, is also concerned with the pilots, this time exclusively those on leave.

Three years' pay offered

At the London Conference Mr. Selwyn Lloyd indignantly denied Mr. Shepilov's accusation that the old company, and by implication the French and British Governments, "had been trying to disrupt traffic on the Canal by calling off pilots and technical staff."

The contrary, he said, was true—and was, no doubt, literally true. The nationals of both countries, said Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, had been advised to stay at work at least until the end of the conference.

Apart from the fact that staying until the end of the conference or even until the end of the Nasser meeting with the five-nation committee does not necessarily mean the end of their contractual engagement, the news from Egypt sent by Frank Owen described a state of affairs which comes pretty close to Mr. Shepilov's allegation.

Frank Owen reports that at least two pilots, one British and the other French, conferred to him at Ismailia and Port Said what he had previously heard from other sources: that the ousted company was offering pilots on leave three years' pay with full pension rights not to return to duty, in order to embarrass the new Canal Authority by holding up traffic.

In addition to these distortions of fact there was also an instance of an untrue report.

This report said that Saudi Arabia was "exerting her influence at Washington in favour of Egypt," the implication being that Saudi Arabia had let it be understood that she could not guarantee the safety of foreign oil interests if Arab feeling were exacerbated by harshness towards Egypt.

An untrue report

Strangely enough, this rumour was alleged to be Nasser-inspired, though it is difficult to see why he should attempt to create a rumour which would so readily spring into people's minds without his assistance.

Anyway, this particular report was promptly denied by the State Department.

The chances of a quick and peaceable settlement of the dispute would have been infinitely better if Mr. Krishna Menon's proposals had been adopted.

He suggested a purely consultative and advisory committee of canal users, to form a liaison with the Egyptian Canal Authority, which would also report any disputes which might arise to the United Nations.

Against this, Mr. Dulles' proposals, even after acceptance of the Pakistani amendment, still specify an international executive body for the actual management and, therefore, the virtual suppression of the Egyptian Canal Authority.

Neither during the London Conference nor since, has anyone in authority reminded the delegates or the general public that Britain, France and Egypt are all members of the United Nations; and every day brings news of troop movements, transfers of naval vessels to the Mediterranean and other preparations of a kind neither proposed nor authorised by the London Conference.

United Nations and peace

According to the strict letter of the law Egypt could refuse intervention even by the United Nations, on the ground that this is technically an issue between an Egyptian company and the Egyptian Government.

But if President Nasser were foolish enough to insist on this, he would have the whole world against him, losing even the support of India and Russia. For in its moral aspect and in practical fact it is an issue between member States of the United Nations.

This is what the United Nations Charter has to say on the subject:

Chapter I, Article 2: The organisation and its members, in pursuit of the purposes of Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of its members;
2. All members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

This verbatim quotation of the relevant paragraphs of the United Nations Charter shows why all the military steps and explicit or implicit threats of force against Egypt are manifestly wrong twice over: a first time because Britain has pledged her word to settle such disputes peacefully, a second time because the present threats, entailing as they do the hostility of the Arab states, also endanger world peace.

S. African police tap phones

From Basil Delaine

Blantyre, Nyasaland
SPECIAL BRANCH of the South African Police in Johannesburg have made recordings of telephone conversations between members of the African National Congress in Rhodesia and members in South Africa. This was reported by the Sunday Express, Johannesburg, recently.

A Criminal Investigation Department spokesman of the BSA Police in Salisbury has since denied that calls were tapped.

But enquiries made by a reporter of a Southern Rhodesia newspaper at the Post Office revealed that certain conversations had been recorded by the Police.

ARE WE CAPABLE OF BROTHERHOOD?

MOROCCO, newly permitted to function as an independent state, has run up against difficulties. The two parties, the Istiqlal and the PDI (Democratic Party of Independence) have been working together as a coalition.

Recently the Istiqlal has become restive about this arrangement and has been threatening to withdraw and go into opposition because of the ineffectiveness of the Government. There does not seem to be any important immediate conflict of policy but there is, of course, continuous rivalry between the parties and manoeuvring for position.

The Sultan, Mohammed V, is engaged in an endeavour to pull the two parties together and reconstruct a working coalition, and as he has a strong position because of his association with the nationalist struggle, it is possible that he will be successful, and the work of political consolidation and the development of the necessary experience for stable government may be able to go forward another stage.

This type of crisis, however, which is the surface expression of deep rivalries and hatreds, is inevitable in the earlier periods of newly-won national sovereignty and with the inevitable trend towards national independence in the world today it is a factor that ought to be constantly in the minds of those statesmen who have accepted that the days of imperialism are over, and should influence and modify their policies.

The test of good statesmanship in the West today is not to be found in a cynical contemplation of the difficulties of the young and inexperienced nationalisms, or in fury at their mistakes, but in the understanding and helpfulness that they should be able to bring to these fledglings of national freedom.



RECENT happenings in Morocco have brought back to mind some comments made by Colonel Nasser a year after the Egyptian revolution had been carried through and these are not without relevance in the consideration of recent happenings in Egypt and our attitude to them.

Writing in the Egyptian weekly, Akher Sa'ra, in July, 1953, Colonel Nasser spoke of the dismay with which he had contemplated the disposition of affairs on the morrow of the revolution. The revolution had been successfully carried through by the army in the confidence that there would be an enthusiastic massing of the people behind it.

"But how far the reality from the dream! The masses that came were disillusioned and divided groups of stragglers. The sacred advance toward the great objective was stalled and there emerged a prospect dark and foreboding, full of danger."

"We set about seeking the views of leaders of opinion and the experience of those who were experienced. It was our misfortune that we were not able to obtain very much. Every man we questioned had nothing to recommend except to kill someone else. Every idea we listened to was nothing but an attack on some other idea. If we had gone along with everything we heard we would have killed off all the people and torn down every idea; and there would have been nothing left for us but to sit down among the corpses and ruins."

He then first spoke fully to the fact that there were two revolutions in progress: one for the achievement of national independence, and the other a social revolution which had to liquidate the feudal institutions which had been maintained because they served the interests of imperialism, and to establish a more equalitarian social order in which democratic institutions would be possible.



IN the struggle for national independence all attention is concentrated on its demands and the other and more complicated task receives no thought.

"Peoples preceding us on the path of human progress have passed through two revolutions, but they have not had to face both at once; their revolutions were a century apart in time. But as for us the terrible experience through which our people are going is that we are having both revolutions at once."

The responsibility for the fact that the peoples of North Africa and elsewhere in the world have to encounter the travail of revolutionary changes, that others have met and dealt with in past eras, while they face the disorganisation following the struggle for national freedom, and without due preparation, falls upon the imperialist peoples whose subjects they have now ceased to be.

We ought, we suggest, to realise that there will be new problems that they will have to face upon which they have no traditional experience to guide them; they will have needs formerly met—or evaded—by their imperialist controllers that they will have to find new ways to meet; and we must expect also from them some crudities of action that a greater diplomatic experience might have enabled them to avoid.

The test of our adequacy to the new situation in the world is our capacity for understanding and tolerance where these are necessary, and our willingness to help freely and gracefully where we can no longer dominate by force.

The South and segregation

LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

I WANT to devote this week's letter to a comment on one aspect of the Democratic Party nominating convention which has just ended as these words are being written.

The one item in the platform adopted at Chicago which aroused real interest and involved some controversy had to do, of course, with civil rights the Supreme Court decision for integration in the public schools and the relations between the races.

The Convention Resolutions Committee under the chairmanship of the majority leader in the national House of Representatives, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, wrestled hard over the wording of the civil rights plank.

THE DEMOCRATICS' POLICY

It appeared at first that the Report on the matter would be unanimous and indeed until a few hours before the question came before the Convention, it was a unanimous report.

This meant, for one thing, that it was a pretty strong civil rights statement which specifically referred to the Supreme Court decision on integration and recognised it as "the law of the land."

It came out for "full rights" for all citizens regardless of colour in employment, voting, schooling, etc.

If there had been less, the section could not have been acceptable to

such liberals as Senators Lehmann, Paul Douglas and Humphrey and governors like Mennen Williams of Michigan, men whose urban constituencies include large numbers of Negroes and labour unionists.

Indeed, when it came to a showdown, these men or their like on the Resolutions Committee did finally bring a Minority Report before the convention. It was, however, signed by only 14 members out of a total of 108 on the Resolutions Committee.

It proposed that the Democratic Party go on record for enforcing though not "by force" the Supreme Court decisions and secondly provided for legislation to implement the provision relating to "full rights" for all.

As one listened over TV to the defence put up by the liberals for these amendments one got the impression that their heart was not in it, that they did not expect to see them adopted, and that they were making their play mainly for the benefit of their Negro constituents at home.

The amendments were turned down and the Committee draft accepted without a roll call or a demand for one.

BRITAIN is particularly unhappy in its Government at the present time. We live in a fast changing world in which new issues are constantly presenting themselves, and whenever one of these comes in a crucial form our ill-starred team of rulers seems fated to put the wrong foot forward in dealing with it.

We have just seen it in process of being rescued from the consequences of its exceedingly ill-advised sabre-rattling policy over the Suez Canal.

This is not, of course, to say that this crisis is now over.

Should Colonel Nasser fail to co-operate with the various statesmen who have been trying to save Britain and France from themselves it is all too evident that the Government has so far no new policy to deal with the situation and is likely to fall back on its earlier attitude when its Chauvinistic wing begin their clamour again.

Again misled

NOW there has followed the Government's deplorable method of meeting the opportunity offered by the cessation of EOKA activities. Here he believe it has again been misled by Sir John Harding whose attitude it was that previously brought about the exiling of Archbishop Makarios.

Sir John clearly sincerely holds the view that his surrender terms were "generous."

What they do, of course, is to achieve "unconditional surrender" in the corporate and political sense while offering individual Cypriots of the "liberation movement" a gamble in which they may personally be lucky.

The right way to have responded would have been to have sought the immediate resumption of negotiations through the medium of Archbishop Makarios.

If EOKA resumes its "liberation" activities as a result of Sir John Harding's terms the Government will have a great deal to answer for.

This is not, of course, to minimise the mistake that EOKA is equally making. Its really effective line would have been to have ignored Sir John Harding's terms, to continue in its decision to cease its violent activities and to wait.

Captured diary

THE validity of what has been said above holds, we believe, whether or not the diaries and documents the British Government claims have been captured prove to be authentic and to provide the evidence that the Government claims they do—implicating Makarios in the operations of the "terrorist" movement.

The Times published its preliminary account of these under the heading "Archbishop Makarios Un-

Throughout this performance Northerners did the talking both for and against the Committee report. Southerners kept still.

They had voted for the report in Committee, however, and in private interviews said they were prepared to "go along" or to "live with it."

The key question is why the powerful Southern politicians were prepared to go along with a fairly strong civil rights plank which certainly gave no countenance to the efforts they are making in their home states to circumvent the Supreme Court decision.

THEY THINK THEY'LL WIN

It may safely be said that the outcome bears testimony to the fact that the Democrats believe they have a chance to win the Presidential election in November.

Eisenhower is not as attractive a figure to Southern Democrats who might be inclined to bolt as he was four years ago. His illnesses are partly responsible for this.

They probably also think that they have gotten about all they can expect by way of benefits for Southern oil and gas interests, for example, from a Republican Administration. They despise Nixon.

Under these circumstances they think the Democratic Party has a real

★ ON PAGE SEVEN



masked," which reminds us that The Times was concerned in a similar unmasking many years ago when it sponsored the Pigott letters demonstrating Parnell's connection with Irish terrorism—letters which were subsequently exposed as forgeries.

It must be remarked that there is an astonishing timeliness in this discovery considering the criticism that the Government is likely to be under following its last maladroit action.

Before reaching conclusions as to what these discoveries demonstrate and as to their authenticity we shall await, not only the full version promised by the Government, but also rather fuller information as to the circumstances of their capture.

One point of particular significance should be noted. Anticipating the objection that it would seem to be improbable that a man engaged in the activities that occupied Grivas should commit so much about them to a diary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd has

Cyprus Panama Canal Iron Curtain

pointed out that leaders of the French underground "liberation" movement in World War II kept similar diaries.

We approved and fostered these activities, however, so it is not that we regard them as intrinsically criminal, but only when they are used against ourselves.

Removing the Iron Curtain

IF there is to be freedom of contact between the peoples of the West and the peoples of Eastern Europe and China there will have to be a changed attitude not only on the part of the Communist Governments but also on the part of many of the authorities in the West.

The Russians have begun to make contact more easy; certainly not so unhampered as we should like to see, but a very noticeable improvement upon what obtained a few years ago.

This is frequently being met in the West, not by a gratified response, but by the building of Western barriers as a substitute for such holes as are being made in the "iron curtain."

The most unpleasant example of this is the US State Department's prohibition of a group of journalists availing themselves of an invitation to visit China, a prohibition that subsequently received the endorsement of President Eisenhower.

It has in the past been urged—rightly, we believe—that the Russian measures for the prevention of contact between Russians and the outside world were the consequence of a distaste for letting outsiders have knowledge of some of the conditions that obtained in Russia and an equal distaste for permitting Russians to observe conditions in the world outside Russia.

We may now have to apply this judgement in reverse. Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower are not disposed to permit a group of American observers to get first-hand knowledge of conditions in China or to be helped to a new view of how the average Chinese views its policies.

Trade union contacts

A SECOND example, in Britain, is the attitude of the Trades Union Congress General Council as expressed in its report to the forthcoming Trades Union Congress. The Council had previously condemned arrangements for exchange of delegations between the trade unions of Russia and Britain and it evidently deprecates that despite this declared attitude, members of various unions have in fact visited Russia.

We hope that there will be a changed attitude on this matter as a result of discussion at Brighton.

We can quite understand and sympathise with this attitude of the TUC in the past, but if—as everybody now surely hopes—the barriers between the East and the West are to be

broken down and the peoples of the nations with more liberal institutions are to help the peoples of the totalitarian countries to understand the Western conception of democracy, full use must be made of these increasing opportunities for contact as they develop.

It is precisely in the trade union field that this can be done with the least harmful effects.

Real question

IT is desirable to speak with frankness on this matter. One of the main objections to the Russian method of fostering contact in the past by the method of invited delegations has been that it involved to a considerable degree the danger of "suborning" those who availed themselves of the facilities so offered.

They could only make these visits through the courtesy, and very largely at the expense, of their hosts.

They were well looked after and made particularly comfortable, and as a consequence they became predisposed to surrender some of their freedom of judgement out of a sense of gratitude.

There may even in some cases have been an indisposition to jeopardise by a too free outspokenness the possibility of future favours to come.

Anybody who has been in a position to observe the operations of the World Peace Council must know that this aspect has been a considerable factor here.

It is a technique which, incidentally, the "Moral Rearmament" movement has also been able to use, because of its resources, with a good deal of success.

With the trade unions, this consideration need not apply. The unions are quite able to act as hosts to delegations of Russians in their turn.

Neither side need thus feel a sense of being compromised in any way.

All that the British trade unions need is confidence that the members of the delegations they send have a reasonable understanding and conviction of the superiority of the West, democratic institutions of the West over the illiberal conceptions of single-party domination of the East.

Can there be any question that they have such confidence?

Consulting Nasser

WHEN the Conference on the Suez Canal was convened the Ambassador for Panama in London conveyed a protest from his Government against its omission. That decision can be taken about the Suez Canal that does not have immediate implications in regard to the control of other international waterways, and particularly the Panama Canal, is obvious.

Representatives of the Panama Government have since been in Cairo consulting with Colonel Nasser on the analogous position of the two Governments in the matter.

Later, first the representative of the Panama Government in Egypt announced that Panama would accept international control for the canal; he was followed by the ambassador in London who said the same thing and made it clear that the fact that the US has purchased rights over a strip of land on each side of the canal does not mean that the sovereignty of Panama over the canal has been transferred.

We shall be surprised if the Egyptian Government does not raise this question in its reception of the approaches of the deputation led by Mr. Menzies.

It is clearly entitled to stipulate that this matter shall be dealt with as one of general principle rather than that the Suez should be treated in isolation.

Incidentally, a minor problem of administration has arisen between Panama and the US. A new treaty between the two Governments deprives native Panamanian employees of the US in the canal zone of certain welfare facilities available to other citizens of Panama, including use of the hospitals.

It has been assumed that the wages would be raised by the authorities in compensation, but that this will not be done.

The Panama Government has made a formal protest in this matter through its ambassador in Washington.

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Yoskimi Umeda reports on the Second World Conference Against A and H Bombs held in Nagasaki

FIVE thousand representatives of the Japanese people, together with delegates from six world organisations and seven countries met in Nagasaki from August 9 to 11—eleven years after the dropping of the first atomic bombs on Japan. They discussed practical measures to achieve the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

On behalf of the Presiding Committee, Mr. Kookai Handa said:

"Though the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs succeeded in collecting signatures of one-third of the population in Japan and the world, still the power of the signatures could not prohibit the test explosions. . . . But we should continue our efforts."

Mr. Kaoru Yasui, the General Secretary of Japan Council against the A and H Bombs, made the following report:

"There have been collected 33,556,308 signatures in Japan and nearly seven hundred million signatures in the world at large against atomic and hydrogen bombs, and we are much encouraged by the fact that the will of the general public has become powerful enough to move international politics."

After referring to the programme, he continued:

"Yesterday, a woman victim of [the] Nagasaki [atomic bomb] committed suicide in despair. The night before, she greeted the foreign delegates to the World Conference at Nagasaki Station . . .

Our responsibility

"I could not help but weep bitterly for her. We must advance our movement until all the victims of atomic and hydrogen bombs can say: 'It is good we survived'."

"In conclusion, I must make clear that, when we Japanese people condemn the test explosions, use of A and H bombs, and strongly demand their prohibition, we never forget Japan's responsibility for the Pacific War. The appeal for the World Conference is based upon a serious self-examination on the part of the Japanese upon the last war."

A memorial service for atomic bomb victims followed the morning's proceedings, and was held in front of the Statue for World Peace. Messages were received from 15 countries

outside Japan, and from 40 organisations. Among them were those from President Nehru and from President Magsaysay of the Philippines, Mr. Hugh Brock and Dr. Donald Soper.

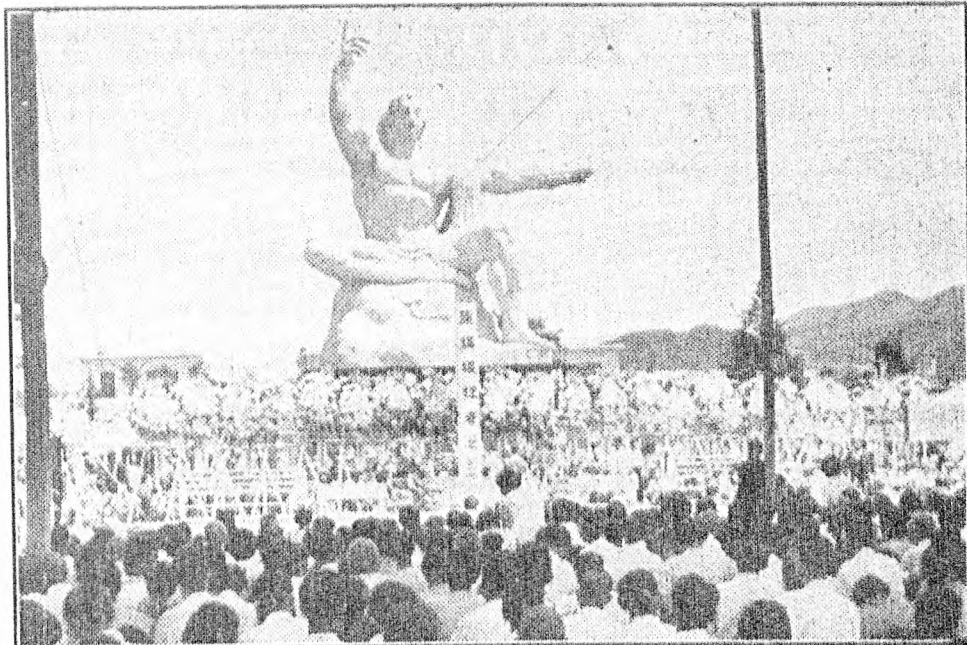
The atmosphere was tense when Miss Chiko Watanabe, a 27-year-old victim, took the rostrum on her mother's arms and told the audience: "Dear friends, I am Watanabe, a member of the Association of the Atomic Maidens. . . . Please look at this miserable figure of mine. I am paralysed in the lower part of my body."

"I have lived my painful life for these 11 years. I have often wanted to kill myself, and were it not for my Mother's love I could not have lived up to now."

Mr. Kamejiro Senga, the representative of Okinawa islanders, described the unbearable hardship and humiliation the islanders had to

NO MORE

ATOMIC OR HYDROGEN BOMBS!



The memorial service for the victims of the atom bomb in Nagasaki in front of the Statue for World Peace on August 9.

undergo in their struggle against the expansion of the atomic and hydrogen bomb base.

He demanded in the name of the conference two points, for which the co-operation of foreign delegates was called:

1. To work for the withdrawal of the A and H bomb base in Okinawa.

2. To appeal to the UN and the governments of Japan and of the whole world about the Okinawa issue in order to put an end to the barbarous domination of US forces which violates international law and defies justice and humanism.

The following two days were devoted to meetings of, and reports from, six commissions which were set up to deal with work for

prohibition of the use of A and H bombs, on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and measures for the relief of victims of A and H bomb tests.

Conference declaration

At the close of the conference, Mrs. Sadako Miyao, Committee member of the Nagano Council against the A and H bombs read the "Declaration of the World Conference against the A and H Bomb."

This stated: "Our movement has done much for the relief of the victims of nuclear warfare but their suffering continues; it can last for many generations."

"Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims are the

sole victims of the atomic bombs in the world.

"Their relief which can only be achieved through national and international relief activities, by agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the suppression of foreign military bases, could give a way for expression of the will of the people."

"All peace movements are making rapid developments in the advance to these ends. In Japan there is a strong and growing demand for the removal of atomic and hydrogen bomb bases from the country and for relief for the people of Okinawa, whose livelihoods are endangered by air and military bases."

"The delegates to this conference pledge themselves to work for these aims in co-operation with all the people of the world."

Peace policies urged at Indian independence rally

By TERESA HOOPS

"WE have been told that war is an essential element of growth. I do not accept this," declared Mr. Dev Das Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma Gandhi and Managing Editor of the Hindustan Times, in London last Sunday.

"If we are to accept it, there will be no place in this world for peaceful living at all. I do not think we want another war," he said.

Mr. Gandhi was speaking at the Indian Independence Day Celebration at Holborn Hall, sponsored by the Indian Workers' Association.

Mrs. Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, addressed the audience of 350 in Hindi, and then gave a summary in English.

"We all want peace," she declared. "We would know now that the consequences of a war would be total annihilation."

"There is a great lag between the thinking of the human mind and the great achievements of science."

She urged the removal of divisions and barriers among the peoples of India, and the building of "a new nation . . . according to the new Socialist pattern . . . mere political independence will not satisfy us for long . . .

"We do not want to ally ourselves with any political power, but we intend to be friendly with all powers, great or small," she asserted. "We try to judge all the issues

that come to the UN independently and on their merit."

She pointed to successes of this approach.

She regretted that all nations had not yet achieved their political independence.

The speeches at the three-hour celebration were alternated with Indian music, accompanied by joyous stamping of feet.

WITHOUT FORCE

Fenner Brockway, MP, declared that nine years of independence had given the Indian people a new sense of self-respect. India's freedom was important for the whole world. Gandhi's message was for all. He paid tribute to India's contribution to world peace.

"The achievement of independence in India has been an example and an inspiration to millions of dependent peoples all over the world," he said.

Concerning the Suez Conference, Mr. Brockway said, "I want Mrs. Pandit and the other members of India's delegation at the Egyptian Conference to know that when they are seeking to get a result without reliance on force, they are speaking for the great majority of the people. They are speaking for hundreds and thousands in European and American countries as well."

Reginald Sorensen, MP, Chairman of the National Peace Council, urged struggle against poverty, disease and ignorance, as well as foreign domination.

LIVE PEACEFULLY

"Until and unless India and Pakistan can solve their problems and can live side by side as brothers, then the wonderful testimony that India has been giving to peace in the world will be to some extent vitiated by her failure to solve the problem on her own doorstep," he said.

"I do beseech you all to try sometimes to get into the other man's mind. We should be able to respect each other far more."

Mr. Sorensen admitted Egypt's right to the Suez Canal but hoped she would not interfere with the trade, which would harm both Britain and India.

The first speaker of the programme, Mr. R. P. Dutt, Vice-Chairman of the British Communist Party, spoke of India's stand "for the freedom of all nations and against colonialism," and for "the great principle of peace."

A resolution on Goa was passed, paying "homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives so that Goa be free and achieve her rightful place as an integral part of the Indian Republic," and deprecating support for the Portuguese Government's policy by "certain circles in NATO . . ."

The importance of the Bandung Conference was also mentioned in a resolution.

The General Secretary of the Association in his report, regretted colour bar "with regard to employment, housing and social life," faced by Indian workers in Britain. The Association aims to provide cultural and social life for Indian workers in Britain.

"NEGOTIATE"-PPU

A LETTER expressing "our grave concern" about the Suez crisis was sent to the delegates to the Suez Conference in London by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

Several were sent in the language of the respective countries.

He stated that "a large and increasing number of people in this country broadly share our point of view . . ."

A copy of "Suez Commentary," by Roy Sherwood was enclosed with each letter. The letter reads in part:

"As pacifists we believe that the use of threat of force under all circumstances is immoral and unprofitable. In the present instance we think that the military precautions taken by Britain are not justified and have prejudiced the atmosphere in which the conference meets."

"We are convinced that any attempt to impose by force the decisions which the conference may reach must fail to achieve a solution of the problems involved and might well endanger not only the Suez Canal itself but the whole of our civilisation."

"We hope, therefore, that you will do everything possible to ensure the rejection by the conference of any suggestion of the use of force under any circumstances."

"In regard to the conference itself, it is our view that the manner in which it has been called and some of the statements made since the invitations were issued have destroyed the essential conditions of a real conference and made it virtually impossible for the procedure to take the form of real negotiations."

"Once there was a dispute it was essential to secure that all parties to it should have equal opportunity to make clear their position if it was desired to reach a peaceful solution and not to dictate terms."

"Since it has been decided to continue with the conference in the absence of the representatives of Egypt, we would urge that the most those present should do is to formulate plans which could then be a basis for discussion with the Egyptian Government."

"The conference must be regarded as a preliminary to negotiations and not as a final step."

He believed in only moral force

From a Correspondent

"I FEEL my best contribution to the state could be made in that field of work in which I am best qualified and trained," said an applicant before the Wales Local Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors at Swansea Guildhall on August 14.

He was Hywel Peredur Huws, of Gwauncae-Gurwen, who applied on religious grounds saying he was a member of a Welsh Congregational Church of which his father was minister in Gwauncae-Gurwen.

Huws was asked by the Chairman, Judge Trevor Morgan, QC, why he alone should be left to work as he pleased and Huws replied, "I am willing to give all the voluntary service I can. I don't believe I should be conscripted."

The Chairman commented that Huws' opinions seemed political as well as religious. Huws said, "I don't think the ethics of Christianity would allow me to do military service."

VOLUNTEER WORK

Huws told the Tribunal that he had obtained a university degree in French and Latin and another in law. He had also obtained his teacher's diploma, although he intended becoming a solicitor.

He took an active part in church affairs. His father was a pacifist in the last war.

Asked if he would undertake forestry work, Huws said, "I don't agree the State should be allowed to take away one's free will." He would not help man an anti-aircraft gun in any future war if Swansea was threatened with destruction, even though it meant saving innocent lives. He would help the injured but could do nothing for those who had been killed.

Chairman: Do you believe in force of any kind?

Huws: Yes, force which is within the moral principles of Christianity.

He said that in the event of war he would volunteer for hospital or ambulance work, but he did not believe they should be preparing for war at the present time.

Huws' name was removed from the register of conscientious objectors.

Lana Turner-Richard Burton "partnership" barred

From BASIL DELAINE

Blantyre, Nyasaland

THE European Rhodesia Board of Censors ordered the manager of the Victory Cinema, Salisbury, to obliterate a large poster which showed an Indian man embracing a European woman.

The poster, according to The Rhodesia Herald, was advertising the film "The Rains of Ranchipur," starring Lana Turner and Richard Burton.

Richard Burton plays the part of an Indian doctor and the poster shows him holding Miss Turner in his arms.

The film itself was also cut in a number of places. The kissing scene between Lana Turner and "Indian" Richard Burton was not shown in the capital of the country whose policy is proclaimed as "partnership" between the races.



Lana Turner and Richard Burton in 'The Rains of Ranchipur'

WARS WILL CEASE...

I WRITE as the International Conference on Suez draws to its close and one thing at least seems certain. The original intention of the British and French Governments to enforce the international control of the canal by military action if necessary has not received the support of other governments. Wars WILL cease when men refuse to fight, and it is the purpose of the PPU to stir the consciences of men and women until they do refuse to fight in any war.

The Suez crisis has been a useful reminder of the fact that war can never provide a solution for problems which cause conflicts, and that when the use of force is renounced the method of negotiation have a real chance to resolve the conflict in the interests of all concerned. That is the message which we must continually be proclaiming, and not only during an emergency but week after week, year in, year out.

There is no question of internationalising our work. It IS international, as witness the War Resisters' International—but is it also YOUR work? Headquarters Fund can be the link through which your gifts pass, and with their help we can provide effective posters and leaflets and arrange demonstrations and meetings in the pursuit of peace. But we do need your help now.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956: £1,150
Amount received to date: £639

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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BOOKS APARTHEID AND NON-VIOLENCE

Brooke Marvin reviews

Drum, by Anthony Sampson, London, Collins, 16s.

"WHITE South Africa was alarmed. These batches of volunteers springing up all over the country, marching peacefully to jail, upset the traditional European view of Africans, as being either savage or incapable of organisation . . . more than 7,500 non-Europeans prepared to go to jail."

In the above paragraph from the book "Drum", Anthony Sampson reveals the ignorance of many white South Africans about the patience, confidence, and discipline of their African fellow countrymen.

He was editor of the popular African magazine, also called *Drum*, and his book describes its development against the background of apartheid.

During the Gandhian defiance campaign, the magazine published an eight page photographic history of the events taking place. The campaign caught the imagination of Africans, and *Drum* sold out after reaching a new circulation peak.

EINSTEIN

Norman Scottney reviews

Albert Einstein. A documentary biography, by Carl Seelig, translated by Mervyn Savill, 240 pp., London, Staples Press, 16s.

It is difficult for the non-mathematical to appreciate the enormous achievements of the man of whom Bertrand Russell has said "his fame will prove as enduring as Newton's."

Through the book shines Einstein's resentment of intolerance in any form, his carelessness of his personal appearance, love of the violin, quiet puckish humour and saint-like devotion to science.

He said "The common place goals of human endeavour—possession, outward success and luxury—have always seemed to me despicable since early youth"; and again "A contemporary has and, not unrightly, that the serious research scholar in our generally materialistic age is the only deeply religious human being" and "The less knowledge a scholar possesses the farther he feels from God; but the greater his knowledge, the nearer his approach to God." The pattern of Einstein's life is transparent.

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Shortly after this Patrick Duncan, the son of a former Governor General of South Africa, and Manilal Gandhi, the Mahatma's son, joined the defiance campaign and saved it from becoming anti-white. Their leadership gave it a new respectability and, to white South Africa, a new horror.

The book shows the author's strong sympathy with the problem of Africans and the part the magazine played in the developing opposition to the government.

There is a chapter about Father Huddleston who "combines the firmness and conviction of a monk with the warm affection of a close friend . . ."

The author describes Huddleston as "being so inextricably a part of black South Africa, so much the fixed star against which all other liberal activities were judged, that it is difficult now that he has been recalled to imagine South Africa without him."

Seven out of the staff of twenty came from St. Peter's School, of which Huddleston was Superintendent. One of these, Arthur Mainman, said "Huddleston was never too busy to listen to a student's sorrows and ambitions—especially ambitions."

The author describes this colleague as a "cheeky Kaffir—what happens when you start educating them; but good Kaffirs make bad journalists. We took him on as a cub reporter. He looked the complete Hollywood journalist . . . typed fast with a cigarette in the corner of his mouth and barked over the telephone in staccato sentences."

When Bob Gosani, a young Negro photographer, wanted to take photos from a building overlooking Johannesburg central jail, Arthur went with him to help him carry the heavy telescopic camera borrowed for the job.

The author's secretary, Patrick Duncan's sister, went too, to pretend to be the photographer, as African photographers were unheard of. They rehearsed their roles in the office, getting hilarity even out of apartheid, grim and ever present as it is: "Yes, madam. No, madam. Does the missus want it here?"

The book describes the beginning of the destruction of Sophiatown, the most lively and sophisticated of all the African townships on the Reef.

African opposition stopped short at measures demanding personal sacrifice.

Bitter though some moments are, Africans have not yet turned to hating; they have a resilience, a gaiety and humour and vitality, and a capacity for suffering . . ."

A child's life of Gandhi

The new farm and the Zulu Rebellion

Last week we read how Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, and started to work for the freedom and happiness of all the Indians in the world. He traveled all over India to find out just how poor people lived.

WHILE on his third visit to South Africa Gandhi decided to found a colony of people who would all lead simple lives pleasing to God. He therefore purchased a piece of land not far from the city of Durban, intending to start a farm where the people could live and grow their own food.

Although he had left his wife and children in India, he had brought with him on this voyage several relatives—young men who wanted to see life in a new land.

AS TOLD BY GENTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

These young men, several friends, both European and Indian, and a small number of Gandhi's devoted followers and fellow-workers formed the new colony.

All were equal in position and all shared in the work of farming the land and harvesting the crops. There was no idea of getting rich or having an easy life.

Every man, woman and child in the colony was ready to perform any task that was asked of him or her, as if they had all been one loving family.

In their spare time they wrote and printed a newspaper called Indian Opinion. This paper published all kinds of news helpful to the Indian people of South Africa.

The farm was called the Phoenix Settlement and Gandhi, its founder, loved it very much. He would have been glad to live there always, but, apart from his legal work, his political work was growing bigger and bigger.

He was fast becoming the hope of the Indian nation, and Indians felt that only he could make them free. So he could only pay short visits to Phoenix.

SOON he sent for his wife, Kasturba and the little boys to come and live at Phoenix. On the voyage, Ramdas, the youngest child, broke his arm while playing. Gandhi still

Helping to build "The Kingdom of Kindness"

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

HALLAM Tennyson, 35 year old novelist and great-grandson of the poet, is best known to Peace News readers as author of SAINT ON THE MARCH (in America, INDIA'S WALKING SAINT) in which is told the amazing story of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement of India—"Vinoba's revolution by love."

Arising out of the publication of this book, the Bhoodan Well Fund Appeal was started some months ago, enabling the peoples of Britain and America to give direct help to the workers in the Bhoodan Movement. Through this fund tools and equipment are provided for digging the wells and irrigation channels in the villages of India, where land is being transferred.

Recently returned from a "pilgrimage" throughout Britain to arouse interest and support for this work, Hallam Tennyson gives something of his impressions in an interview with Peace News.

"If a few people, respected and possessing the qualities of leadership, could dedicate themselves to this new vision of waging war on want, there is no question in my mind that the response would be forthcoming," he said.

Hallam Tennyson had recently travelled one thousand four hundred miles—two hundred on



HALLAM TENNYSON

foot and the remainder through fifty-three different litch hicks.

He had earned his keep as farm labourer, dock worker, factory hand, and hotel waiter. He had addressed forty meetings in Yorkshire, the Midlands, Wales, Devonshire and the Home Counties. He had returned with faith renewed.

"Folk were too fearful on my account," he commented. "A watch, shoes, shirt, socks—all were given me; my every need was anticipated; I might have been on a luxury cruise."

"The initial rather hostile reaction to my views—if it came at all—was shed as discussion continued. I was amazed how open were the colleagues among whom I worked and travelled to the message which I sought to promote."

ENTHUSIASTIC GIRLS

Twenty groups in this country were now in direct contact with specific irrigation projects in India, he explained. These groups included a Town Council (Swansea), a Sunday school, Grammar and Secondary Modern schools, private schools, a church parish, Divisional Labour Parties, Quaker and Peace Pledge Union groups.

The first school to make "an adoption" was the Mount School, York. Girls had worked enthusiastically throughout their holidays, one small girl of 11 returning proudly with the magnificent sum of £15, earned largely through "washing-up". Altogether they had raised £124.

There were two main channels of contact. In Orissa the fund hoped to co-operate in a scheme of irrigation which was to serve about 1,000 villages—the organisers themselves were responsible for sending back first-hand reports of work achieved.

In the Central Provinces, Donald Groom who was now walking with the Bhoodan Movement there, was sending details of the irrigation projects which he would be supervising.

A well cost from £75 to £200, according to local conditions; when dug it became the property of the village community as a whole.

Help was given only where men and women were already organised in voluntary squads under the Bhoodan Movement. There were no overheads.

Grants could be made direct to an account in Bombay, thus avoiding the payment of 2.5 per cent. in tax. To date over £2,000 had been raised in individual contributions, apart from the targets at present being realised by the groups.

VILLAGES AIDED

Two villages in particular should be mentioned: Pochampelli, where the first gift of land was made, and the Bhoodan Movement started, was also among the first to receive help from the fund.

The second was a small village near Bodhaya, where the Buddha is said to have been enlightened, and where is to be found the "Tree of Knowledge" under which it is believed he sat in meditation. This village has now been "adopted" under the scheme by the girls of the Mount School, York.

"For those of us who wish to spread this new sense of brotherhood, there is only one way: to work ourselves," said Hallam Tennyson. "It is not enough to sit back and talk."

His own venture had evoked a response which seemed to him out of all proportion to the actual value of his activity.

He did not seek to start a Bhoodan Movement in Britain. This was an industrialised country with power, organisation, and a highly developed society. What he did desire was that the organisation and power acquired through the development of this society might be directed to new purposes.

"Men will not be inspired to great activity by appeals to their fear, whether fear of the A-bomb, H-bomb or U-bomb," he continued, directing his words towards the peace movement in general. Positive work should replace the negative opposition to, and rejection of, war.

By international co-operation in a programme of mutual aid and war on want the peace movement could offer to mankind a new hope in place of bewildered fear. Psychologically this was a far healthier method; it was the method which would win men's esteem and support.

The dedicated life of self-sacrifice for the common good could reach men's hearts and change men's outlook. This was the most potent of all methods of spiritual and social change. This was the teaching of Jesus, Gandhi, and every religious leader worth anything from the beginning of time, he concluded.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

NEXT WEEK: A new word.

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'END SPECTRE OF WORLD POVERTY'

Reg. Moss, MP, discusses

The Effects on Industry of a Policy of Unilateral Disarmament

TO begin with, expenditure on defence in Britain has been running at the rate of £1,500,000,000 a year, or about 12/- weekly per head of the population. It has been estimated that the expenditure of the NATO Powers is something like £8,000,000,000 annually, or roughly £1,000,000 an hour.

World expenditure for the same purpose reaches fantastic proportions. The essence of such expenditure is that human and material resources are diverted to a form of production which is economically wasteful.

It represents a perversion of economic effort.

In conjunction with this economic waste should be considered the hopeless poverty of the majority of mankind, for it is believed that two-thirds of mankind are deprived of the bare necessities of life on a secure basis. This has been clearly stated by Trygve Lie in his book, *IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE*.

That is why defence expenditure is a perversion of production. The economic doctrine of the use of scarce resources indicates that nations can choose to employ available resources for the relief of man's estate, or for defence, but not for both.

A choice must be made.

An important influence in making the decision is the fact that world population is increasing at the rate of 34 millions a year, pressing upon existing supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials.

End Poverty

In order to overcome the problem of poverty, scientific research should be devoted to peaceful uses. At present such research is concentrated upon military programmes, engulging a disproportionate share of scientific manpower. The benefit to the standard of living arises only as a by-product.

According to Bernal in *THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF SCIENCE*, scientific invention has always been closely associated with war.

Today the development of nuclear power provides an instructive example, the primary object being to invent nuclear weapons, including nuclear bombs, but a nuclear power programme exists by which electricity is to be

I am writing about the economic effect of disarmament and ignoring discussion of the possible political consequences.

The argument depends upon certain assumptions of which the assumption that disarmament would be planned in stages and would not result in a mushroom growth of minor wars is the most important.

It is also necessary to state my personal belief in the international organisation of peace and my corresponding support for the necessary international institutions.

produced to augment British energy supplies.

In the twentieth century it is urgent to adopt a new attitude and develop nuclear power primarily for peaceful purposes.

Although the causes of inflation are complex, there can be no doubt that a major cause is expenditure upon defence. The Government is acting in the belief that inflation results from excessive consumer demand and excessive capital expenditure.

Defence expenditure affects both. Prices rise because bombs have precedence over butter. Those who consider that the present level of defence expenditure should continue should not complain if prices continue

to rise, nor should they promise to cure inflation without promising to cut defence.

Stable prices and heavy expenditure on defence are incompatible.

The real benefit of disarmament, therefore, is the release of human and material resources for the production of the necessities of life.

Workers would use their skill for beneficial purposes and scarce raw materials would be devoted to improving the standard of living of peoples.

Without disarmament this cannot be done on a significant scale. It is clear that support of SUNED (Special UN Fund for Economic Development) has been made dependent upon a measure of disarmament when governments state that defence expenditure excludes support for this particular Fund and economic aid for the economically backward parts of the world is reduced to an inadequate minimum.

It becomes abundantly clear that defence expenditure is the stumbling-block to economic progress.

To cut defence expenditure in real and significant terms requires careful planning. Both major political parties in Britain are pledged to maintain full employment.

It should be remembered that Ernest Bevin once said that full employment had obtained in the past only when there had been new gold discoveries, preparation for war, or war itself.

It is often asserted that the economy of the United States of America has been preserved from slump by that country's internal and external expenditure upon armaments. Indeed, one writer has affirmed that the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 was beneficial to the USA in this sense.

Defence as a market is an insatiable cormorant.

It would be disastrous if disarmament were to produce unemployment, itself only a lesser curse than war. Where workers are employed on the defence programme, the cessation of orders entails redundancy unless plans are carefully laid.

Alternative

It is essential to plan alternative forms of production. It is reported of Nazi Germany that workers preferred to be employed in Nazi armaments factories rather than have no jobs at all.

Millions of people live on the basis of primitive agricultural production. In China the land is farmed almost without agricultural machinery.

Mr. Reginald Moss, Labour Member of Parliament for Meriden in Warwickshire, is a schoolmaster. Born in 1913, he was educated in Wolstanton County Grammar School, the University of Birmingham and the University of London.

He has a wide experience of adult education through the National Council of Labour Colleges, the Workers' Education Association, and the Co-operative movement.

He is a member of the Labour Peace Fellowship.

in Europe too this is often the case. So long as this situation exists, abiding poverty will be the lot of the majority of mankind.

Instead of armaments, produce tractors and farm implements.

Millions of acres of land are unproductive through lack of water. Irrigation could make them fertile.

Instead of producing armaments, produce capital irrigation works.

The standard of living of a people is closely related to the per capita consumption of energy. In many parts of the world indigenous sources of energy do not exist, or exist in inadequate supply.

In the past man has been the slave of wind and water and fuels naturally deposited.

Today nuclear power makes possible the provision of energy and Nuclear Power Stations can be supplied by advanced industrial nations like Great Britain, the USA and the USSR. Concentration upon this task could revolutionize the economic prospects of mankind.

Unfortunately, at present, the major part of nuclear effort and resources are devoted to military purposes.

Examples could be multiplied. There is no doubt that disarmament, linked to plans for peaceful production for the benefit of the world's peoples, would result in increased accumulation of real wealth.

To free mankind from the fear of war and exercise the ancient curse of want, the United Nations could be used to set up a World Planning Authority.

Its task would be to prepare tasks urgently required to be done in order of priority, calling upon various countries to fulfil these tasks according to their industrial capacities.

It is, perhaps, not far-sighted to urge that men have trusted too long in armaments and might now be encouraged, in the face of thermo-nuclear weapons and the gaunt spectre of world poverty, to choose the better way.

Open letter to the young men of Britain

Four conscientious objectors drafted this letter when they met together in the Friends' Ambulance Unit International Service.

CONSCRIPTION has been in force in Britain since 1939 and has become accepted as a normal feature of our lives. It is regarded as necessary for the defence of our country or our way of life.

Yet is this so?

An increasing body of people are rejecting war and choosing the alternative of non-violent acts of goodwill and trust.

Everyone agrees that the world today is in a perilous state. We find that there is conscription for the armed forces in nearly every country. An arms race has developed between East and West.

Bigger and more destructive bombs are being made. Everywhere nations are devoting the major part of their resources to armaments.

This money could be so much better spent.

Remember "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed."

"This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is: two fine, fully-equipped hospitals."

"We pay for a single fighter plane with 500,000 bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people" (Eisenhower).

THEY OBJECTED

A Third World War would destroy all that mankind has built up over many hundreds of years—all that we mean by civilisation.

Such a war might even destroy all life on earth. All mankind lives in fear of another war, yet there are comparatively few objectors to preparations for it.

But over 60,000 young men have objected to war and conscription since 1939.

They may be divided into two main groups—those who hold that war is incompatible with their religious beliefs, these coming from all denominations, and those who base their objections on humanitarian grounds, and believe that war is an inhuman and futile way of resolving the world's problems.

The majority accepted direction to peaceful civilian work, but some objected to the principle of compulsion by the State to perform any service, whether military or not, and others objected only to killing their fellow-men.

Quite a number went to prison.

This letter is to let you know you have a legal right as well as a moral right to object to war.

This country recognises that an individual must obey his conscience and when you register for military service (shortly before your eighteenth birthday) remember you may ask to be placed on the provisional register of conscientious objectors.

YOU MUST DECIDE

You will then be called before a tribunal to determine your sincerity, and if it is satisfied you will have an opportunity to do hospital, forestry or other useful work as an alternative to military service.*

You alone must decide if war is right. It is very easy to agree with the prevailing majority. Have you examined the moral issues involved?

Think hard—this may be one of the most important decisions of your life.

Why not find out more about pacifism and its implications?

If you are interested you can write to the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, founded in 1931, whose members take the pledge "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another."

You can read the weekly newspaper, *Peace News*, obtainable from all newsagents price 4d., or from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Also the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, exists to give advice to those who object to military service on grounds of conscience.

*In some cases complete exemption is given.—Ed., P.N.

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—Carl Sandburg in his Prologue to "The Family of Man," New York, The Museum of Modern Art.

A HUGE photographic exhibition, "The Family of Man," portraying in simple powerful language the magic, the wonder, the frailty and the grandeur of our common humanity, today closes in London after running a month.

We regret the display was arranged in a too-crowded manner, and much of the power of the New York exhibition and even the book version was lost.

The exhibition was co-sponsored by Picture Post and the US Information Service.

Early last year, when the exhibition was shown in New York for over three months, a Peace News correspondent wrote (PN April 29, 1955):

"Edward Steichen, who conceived and executed the exhibition, is obviously a great man. . . . From over a million pictures culled from every part of the world he has selected these magnificent examples of the camera art."

"Man is shown in all his moods; his failures and his prowess are revealed. Love, inhumanity, compassion, fear, joy, pride, boredom, passion, enlightenment, meanness, creation and destruction, fidelity and anger—they are all there for men to see and wonder in . . ."

"So absorbed do you become in the everlasting story of man's struggle with the earth and with himself that you forget the special plight in which he finds himself today."

"At the very end of the exhibition, when you are filled with a great sentiment of sympathy, of that large-heartedness for the whole silly, glorious bunch of your kind, you are stopped up short against a black wall. On it at the bottom is written a quotation from

Bertrand Russell, that we may now have reached the stage when all this can be wiped out."

"The effect is staggering. . . ."

"The end wall is full of a single picture of a dead soldier, in this case an American soldier. Above it is the question Sophocles posed: 'Who is the victim and who the slayer?—Speak.'"

"The last picture is a massive one in colour of the bursting hydrogen bomb at Bikini. It is shown on a translucent screen in a room of darkness. You are alone with it and your thoughts. . . ."

JOB FOR STUDENTS

A JOB Placement Programme to help African students with employment problems has been established by the American Committee on Africa, Donald Harrington, Chairman of the Executive Board, has announced.

An increasing number of young Africans are coming to the United States for their education, the potential "leaders of this emerging continent," he said. Nearly two thousand students are in the US now—four times the number of a few years ago.

He pointed out that "few of these students come with enough financial backing or enough scholarship help to see themselves through college. They need jobs. . . ."

The Placement Programme hopes to act as an intermediary between private organisations and businesses and the students needing full and part-time jobs. The American Committee on Africa is at 28 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.

The workers of Central Africa A CHALLENGE TO TRADE UNIONISM

By ROY GALE

Roy Gale, a South African, lived in Southern Rhodesia for five years before migrating to Britain last year. Formerly a South African civil servant, he resigned that career because of dissatisfaction with the policy toward Africans in the Union of South Africa in general, and particularly the policies of the Nationalist Government. He now seeks to promote the cause of African freedom through the Labour Party and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

AT the insistence of Mr. Creech Jones, the Northern Rhodesian Trade Unions Ordinance of 1949 granted the right to strike and picket to all Northern Rhodesians irrespective of race. This bold step caused much uneasiness among the European settlers, not least in their very colour-conscious Mineworkers' Union.

What would be the effect on white supremacy of this invitation to Africans to try their hand at industrial politics?

The effect has been abundantly clear. The copper mines of Northern Rhodesia have been the scene of an African industrial advancement which has left the two remaining partners in the Federation far behind.

It is true that this linking of cause and effect would be denied by the mining companies, which as recently as February, 1955 assured the world that a strike organised by the African Mineworkers' Union "has now clearly failed. . . the companies have no intention of bargaining with the . . . union." And it is true that all wage claims had on the occasion to be called off.

But it seems more than a coincidence that continued minor strikes and other pinpricks arranged by the African union have gradually won improved conditions, wages and status for its workers.

As far as conditions are concerned, a significant development has been the assimilation of women and children into the Copperbelt, in sharp contrast to the pernicious system of migrant labour, i.e., the separation of a man from his family, to be found elsewhere on the mines of Southern Africa.

The latest statistics show that the ratio of African men to women on the Copperbelt is 142:100. By way of comparison, the figures for the South African gold mines are 596:100.

Wages boosted

The wages and status of African labour were boosted considerably by both the Copperbelt companies within six months of the 1955 strike.

Twenty-four further categories of work were declared open to African advancement, and training schemes were announced which would enable 1,200 Africans to earn up to £40 per month. By February, 1956, 232 had qualified.

And in June the companies increased all African wages by amounts varying from 17s. 6d. to £10 per month. Admittedly, there was a great deal of leeway to make up.

In December, 1954 the average monthly wages for underground workers on the Copperbelt were: Africans £7 0s. 8d.; Europeans £112.

However, peaceful race relations cannot be established by economic benefits alone, and it is in the more emotional political arena that matters have been going awry.

A strange triangle exists among the African Mineworkers' Union, the European Mineworkers' Union and the companies. The position of the African union is clear: it stands not only for material improvements but for its own recognition as a bargaining power.

For this purpose it has become strongly associated with the African National Congress, a development which is viewed with dismay by the Europeans but which is basically similar to Labour politics in Britain.

The companies, while frequently expressing

liberal sentiments, have on more than one occasion made surprising concessions to the mentality of domination on grounds of colour.

Their reply to a demand by the African union for equal pay for equal work was not that they could not afford it, nor that the Africans did not deserve it, but that such a principle would upset the wage structure of the country!

And the Anglo-American Company, in opening up the twenty-four new categories to Africans, agreed to allow the European union the right to veto each decision to implement this principle in practice.

The other company, the Rhodesian Selection Trust, successfully stood out against such a veto.

Danger to peace

The European union is usually vilified by liberals and capitalists alike, and its general attitude has indeed been one of protection of the industrial colour bar; but from time to time individual members and even official pronouncements have been much more hopeful; while the claim that the companies are more interested in cheap labour than in African advancement is not without foundation.

This is a delicate and complicated situation, and it would seem as if there is scope for encouragement and advice from those who have the interests of all workers genuinely at heart.

Criticism of this sort would not be welcome among the whites, but it must be remembered not only that Northern Rhodesia is still a British colony but that the trade union movement at its best knows no national or racial frontiers.

I have said little about Southern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. Until recently, Africans in both these territories were denied the right to strike, and such unions as did exist were quite ineffective.

Now Southern Rhodesia, which, alas, is almost beyond the reach of Whitehall, has voluntarily repealed the exclusion of Africans from the application of the Industrial Conciliation Act, which has been the white workers' charter.

But Nyasaland is still at the stage where striking would involve a violation of contract and would hence be punishable as a crime.

Industry has hardly begun in the territory, but thousands of primitive Africans are herded together on the cotton and tea plantations for pathetically low wages. Politically, Nyasaland has already proved itself highly inflammable, and a real danger to the peace also exists among the uneducated workers unless a decisive start can be made in their industrial organisation.

Here, then, is another challenge. Is it too much to hope that the struggles of the workers in Central Africa may evoke, if nothing else, an expression of support from the Trade Union Congress?

INSIDE THE BELGIAN MINES

They called him "a dirty pacifist"

"... the driver took him by the throat ..."

From ROGER RAWLINSON

THE recent Belgian mine disaster in which 262 miners (amongst them 134 Italians) lost their lives is one more tragic reminder of the failure to modernise the mines and the criminal neglect of safety measures which must be laid at the door of the mine owners.

The inhuman conditions in these privately owned coal mines has been exposed in a pamphlet written by Jean Van Lierde under the title "Six months in the Inferno of a Belgian Mine" ("6 mois dans l'enfer d'une Mine belge").

Van Lierde, a conscientious objector, was condemned in 1950 to nine months imprisonment for refusal to be conscripted into the armed forces. After completing this sentence he was again arrested and given six months for the same "crime."

On his release in January 1952 the Ministry of National Defence suggested he work in the mines until December, 1954. This young CO who believes that some useful service to the community should replace military service, accepted and went to work in the pits beside his North African and Italian comrades who marvelled at a Belgian amongst them.

"Why don't you go to a factory or an office, they would say, there you will be respected, here you are nothing but filth to be trampled on."

"Our case is different, there is no food or work for us in Italy or in Algeria, we have children or brothers and sisters who need our help, otherwise . . ."

Jean Van Lierde describes how even the official, though inadequate fifteen days training is denied to newcomers who, without the experience necessary to produce the required output, suffer substantial cuts in their wages.

Unused to heavy work (he is an industrial draughtsman by profession) he only receives

one hour's pay for a full night's work at the coal face. This is his fourth night's work as a miner.

As he returns to the surface he meets two Italians who have been penalised to the extent of 15/16th of their wages. "Their eyes are blazing with hate."

The following day Van Lierde demands his right to fifteen days training with pay (in Britain it is 13 weeks) or a lighter job. He is given the job of drivers mate on the horse-drawn waggons.

Ready to fall

When he finds the pit ponies overworked, often underfed and left unattended when they are wounded, he protests but to no avail.

He also raises his voice in protest when the driver hurls insults and abuse at the foreign miners who dare not reply. He is called "a dirty pacifist" and two days later he finds himself once more at the coal face where he is given the hardest and most dangerous jobs, in steeply inclined cuttings often only 35 centimeters high (about 14 inches).

Jean Van Lierde witnesses several accidents due to inadequate control and inspection by the mine authorities.

"Here, along hundreds of feet of galleries the arches and pit props are bent or split, enormous blocks are ready to fall."

"In the cuttings it is common to find props which shift at the slightest jolt, others are

ON PAGE SEVEN

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MUSTE

★ FROM
PAGE TWO

chance to win, which means that their party machines in the Southern states will be fortified and that the hold of Southern Democrats on important chairmanships in Congress will likely be maintained.

It will still leave them in a position by legal and political manoeuvring to put off integration in Southern public schools.

Boiling to Eisenhower or putting up Dixiecrat tickets is not attractive to practical politicians no matter how firm their belief in states' rights and white supremacy under such conditions.

NO CLARIFICATION

From one angle, therefore, this development must be regarded as regrettable by genuine progressives and radicals. It serves to perpetuate the confusion in our political life which is bound up with the "solid" (Democratic) South. The Democratic Party, hybrid in composition as it is, will continue to seem the best bet to large sections of organized labour and the more "progressive" labour leaders.

But other sections of workers and the more conservative union leaders will deem it altogether proper to continue to vote Republican. The movement toward a clarification of our political party set-up, the ending of our nominally two-party but in reality one-party system, and the emergence of a labor or socialist party will not be promoted by what took place in the Democratic convention.

There is, nevertheless, one favourable aspect to the developments in Chicago. The fact that the big Southern politicians did not press for their version of a civil rights plank, that the voice of the Dixiecrats was muted at Chicago and that from all indications Southern democrats are not going to bolt, will make for a more tolerant, less heated situation, in racial matters in the South than would have been the case if the race issue had flared up at Chicago and Chicago had been followed by the putting up of extremist Dixiecrat tickets in the Deep South.

I should think the chances are that the extremists in the White Citizens Councils will be told to "behave themselves." By the same token the moderates in the South should be encouraged by the fact that the political big shots showed that they did not want a violent show-down on the race issue.

LABOUR AND THE NEGROES

It is fervently to be hoped that these moderates, who were in many sections virtually completely silenced and immobilised during the past year or more will now find their voices again and will press their opportunity to make public their private convictions that segregation is both morally and politically an odious thing.

Similarly, the labour movement, especially its conservative leaders, on the support of whom the Democratic Party so largely depends, are now challenged to step up the campaign for registration of Negro as well as white workers and to push for the unionisation of Southern labour on a non-segregated basis.

They will have made a monstrously bad bargain at Chicago if they fail in this. Chicago said plainly that the dominant political leaders of the South do not dare to press for extreme "solutions," that segregation is not as strongly supported there as the extremists of the White Citizens Councils have tried to make out.

If labour fails to take full and prompt advantage of the situation that has been thus revealed and opened up, it will deserve what will result: the continued abysmal weakness of organised labour in the South and the indifference or hostility of the Negro masses in that section, with all that implies.

Letters to the Editor

What are pacifists doing?

SYBIL MORRISON is correct in supposing that she may have been misinformed about the policy adopted regarding non-violence at the last conference of the Third Way movement.

Most of the text of the Declaration issued by the conference is given up to showing that violence is rife in all our social relationships; that for war to be abolished we have to recognise and control these various forms of violence in ourselves and in society; and that the decentralisation of political and economic power is a necessary concomitant of a non-violent society.

Violence, in short, is indivisible.

Sybil Morrison still equates non-violence with pacifism, in spite of her assertion to the contrary, because her sole reason for saying that Family Service Units are not specifically non-violent remains that non-pacifists support this kind of work. This is to argue in a circle.

The persistence of this confusion quite clearly explains why Sybil Morrison finds irrelevant my remarks about the work of the Third Way in bringing together pacifists and non-pacifists in the study and practice of non-violence.

JOHN BANKS,

Hon. Secretary, The Third Way Movement,
12 High St.,
London, N.W.3.

I HAVE just read Reginald Reynolds' article of July 20. Writing en route to USA it would have been appropriate if he had coupled the ideas of Thoreau ("Essay on Civil Disobedience") with Tolstoy's as having greatly influenced Gandhi and therefore bearing more fruit outside than inside the country of origin.

It serves to emphasise, also, how much of civil disobedience there was in Gandhi's activities.

No weight given to constructive programmes should minimise this constant social protest. And there is always need for it.

One can sympathise with Reginald Reynolds' impatience when the protest, the "No," however justified and urgent, is regarded as the beginning and the end of pacifist action. But are work camps, pacifist service units, even "reverse" strikes, fundamental enough?

Are they changing anything at the base of things? What about giving up private ownership? Better still, what about pooling resources and sharing productive action—whether agricultural, industrial or professional or a combination of all three?

In fact, why not communities in which the social protest, the social service and the necessary "No" are woven into the tough fabric—the "Yes" and the "No" together—of co-operative living, co-operative production, co-operative worship?

Why not start at ground level and re-build the world?

A. C. BARRINGTON.

Riverside Community,
Lower Moutere, New Zealand.

Archbishops and hanging

I AM sorry if I did less than justice to the Archbishop of York, but the full report of his speech in Hansard gave me the impression that he was not in favour of the complete abolition of capital punishment.

His reason for thinking that the abolitionists' case was the stronger was that the death penalty no longer has the moral dignity of representing the will of the community to

"Any Labour Party members eager to fight for the Suez Canal must be relieved that Kefauver has a mauling in his grave. But perhaps his soul goes marching on."

A. J. P. Taylor, Manchester Guardian,
August 14, 1956.

inflict an unspeakable penalty for an unspeakable crime.

But he also said that he believed that capital punishment had in the past very often fulfilled all the four conditions he laid down for an adequate punishment of murder, nor does he think that there is a moral absoluteness belonging to either side of the controversy.

STUART MORRIS.

6 Endsleigh St.,
London, W.C.1.

London International Choir

THE London International Choir was founded a year ago for the purpose of giving people of all nationalities opportunity for finding friendship and understanding through the practice and enjoyment of music; with the composer Weber's words "Music is the true universal speech of Mankind" as a watchword.

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The conductor is Dr. Paul Steinitz, who also conducts the London Bach Society; application for membership should be made to the Secretary, R. Norris Page, "Rheingold," Wise Lane, London, N.W.7.

FREDERICK WOODHOUSE.

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Suez

ROY SHERWOOD'S article (Suez Commentary, August 10) raises the important question of whether there is a pacifist solution to given international predicaments. He points out quite rightly that had pacifists been in control of the situation to start with the problem would not have arisen.

But, in trying to formulate a positive policy along pacifist lines, his only real solution is a strike of canal users to counteract Egypt's seizure of the Canal Company.

There is no moral difference between such economic pressure and the blocking of Egypt's sterling balances at the Bank of England.

Are not we as pacifists supposed to "turn the other cheek?" Economic aid would surely be more positive than economic sanctions.

M. J. ELLIOTT.

17 Chatham Close,

Sutton, Surrey.

Men do not wish to be soldiers

THERE can be nothing but praise for the leader in Peace News (August 10) on "Men do not wish to be soldiers." It is so true that military service attracts less and less volunteers because the imperialist policy of Britain has become a myth in the eyes of most young men.

Admirable as is this article, I wish, however, that it had rubbed in the utter cynicism of rulers who, failing to enlist free men of citizen age into the services, have recourse to slave-driving and secure lads into the forces under compulsion.

Lads indeed, boys not yet citizens, who had no chance ever to express themselves at all at elections over the foreign policies for which their services, and may be lives, are required. What a shame that most Labour Parliamentary men support such slave-driving!

FRANCOISE DELISE.

26 Aysgarth Rd.,

Dulwich Village,
London, S.E.21.

BELGIAN MINES

★ FROM PAGE SIX

broken but left as they are even though they are the only assurance against a subsidence...

"As I go into the cutting I check the timber, not to get the overman into trouble but for the safety of all, particularly of the foreigners who too often fear to protest in case they lose their job or are reported to the boss."

"On several occasions I refused to work at places where the timbering was obviously unsafe. The overman would grumble, often agreeing with me, but overwhelmed by production statistics, the output required, and in anguish over the "reports" they had to submit at the end of the shift."

Then comes the show-down. "It was on a Monday night before descending into the pit. Some Italian and Moroccan comrades tell me how fed up they are with being exploited like slaves, others tell of deductions of the pay, etc..."

Attacked by driver

"At this moment an overman informs me that contrary to his statement of the previous day I would only receive half a day's pay for the last day's work 'by decision of the driver.' Van Lierde protests vigorously and asks for justice and respect for his comrades."

When assigned to a job and threatened with a fine if he refused, he threw his shovel down and declared his refusal to work under those conditions. Immediately he was attacked by the driver who took him by the throat and punched him in the face.

As he lay for several minutes on the ground the forty foreign miners present turned away in silence not daring to endanger their job by protesting.

He was told he must go to the medical centre run by the mining company otherwise he would forfeit his insurance money. But the centre was 45 minutes journey away and no one to lead him there in the dark so he decided to knock up the local doctor.

The cut on his brow required a stitch. The following day Van Lierde reported to the doctor employed by the mines. He was badly received and told that the cost of treatment would be deducted from his wages as it had been reported that he had started the fight.

He was also told that he was fit for work (although his bandaged head did not allow him to wear his helmet).

A "troublemaker"

Eventually, after much trouble and thanks to the support of the unions and publicity in the Press, he was allowed two nights pay for accident at work and the driver was reprimanded.

The mine manager however gave Jean Van Lierde his notice, "Your presence here," he was told, "is incompatible with law and order, you are a trouble maker..." This notice of dismissal was withdrawn when the union leader threatened a strike.

In August 1952 there was a general strike in Belgium against the two years military conscription decree. Van Lierde was in the picket line at the pithead.

A week later he was served with his third notice of dismissal.

The union obtained a respite for him but a month later he was finally sacked and placed on the black list of all the pits in the Charleroi coal-fields.

Jean Van Lierde, whom I met in 1954 at the War Resisters' International Conference in Paris, is an outstanding leader of the Belgian war resistance movement. He is a Christian, a fervent Catholic, a trade unionist and militant Socialist.

We cannot have too many men like him in the world today.

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"I do not know how to change my soul"

An eighteen-year-old Polish boy, whose beliefs and soul had been shattered by the events of World War II, Nazi and then Communist rule, in a letter, appearing previously in *The New York Times*, wrote: "It is distressing to lose everything in which one believed."

Gene Sharp, a member of the Peace News staff from America, shares his own experience in trying to find a meaningful faith in a world of conflicting beliefs, war and tyranny.

"WHEN I was ten I was told that my beloved brother Lech was killed in the Warsaw uprising for falsehood. In my childish imagination he was always the embodiment of heroism, courage and uprightness.

"When I was ten they told me in a history lesson that he was killed fighting for the vile cause of the London [Polish] Emigré Government and not for the real Poland. I have thought there was only one Poland and now it appeared that there were many.

"When I was ten I ceased to believe in the hitherto sacred word Fatherland because I did not know which of these many Polands was my Fatherland. I no longer had a Fatherland.

"I had God. When I was fifteen I ceased to believe in God. God had proved to be an ally of the murderers of Lech.

"I hated Him . . ."

"For long hours I knelt in a dark empty church. My soul cried, threatened, implored. I hated Him and at the same time I loved Him so much. My poor betrayed Lech also loved Him.

"You must know how terrible it is to feel one's faith slip away, vanish, and yet crave for it to remain. You must know those sleepless nights, that desperate struggling in the soul of a child. The day finally came when the cross became to me only a piece of wood.

"A friend five years older than I gave me help. He was a Communist. It was he who then brought me closer to the ideology [that] restored my faith in the world, in the goal of life, in mankind. These were my happiest years. I rushed from one meeting to another. I believed in the idea and its exponents.

"Three years have passed. Now I am eighteen. It has turned out that what my family said was true—about the cruelty of secret police investigations and about the dictatorship of Stalin. It has turned out that history was really forged.

"Those who looked at my personal questionnaire with suspicion when I begged them for an explanation now speak of the "Stalin era" and the "time of Beria".

"They are recommending jazz, which they opposed two years ago as a symptom of the decayed culture of the West. They are discussing youth organisations in Yugoslavia, about which they sang satirical songs a few years ago.

"I am ashamed . . ."

"And I? I do not know how to change my soul for the fourth time without fear that it will become a rag. Now I cannot stand in the ranks with my face up high although I would like to. I am ashamed of my older colleagues, ashamed for the whole party, for all those who waited, sniffed and looked around and for those who deceived.

"I am ashamed of all of you and, above all, of myself, for my stupidity and credulity. I no longer know how to raise my head. If I ever raise it again—but this is impossible for I have no basis for believing anything.

"Our era was not easy and although we had no rifles in our hands we did not have a rosy path. It is not through effeminacy and prosperity that our cynicism was born and it is not egoism and desire for comfort that have urged us to reject the political leaders.

"We eighteen-year-olds and twenty-year-olds, although growing up in new conditions, are not happy because we have perceived that this newness is very old and it deceived our dreams. It is distressing to lose everything in which one believed."

I DO not know who you are who wrote this letter, or where to write to you. I write in the hope that somehow this might reach you or another like you.

There is little one can say, perhaps, who has not lived through your experience. But perhaps a few words might be helpful.

The sharpness of the reversals of what is said to be "right" and "wrong" have not been as pronounced for me as I grew up in America as they have been for you in Poland, but they have been there.

I was taught when a child in Sunday school classes about the story of Jesus and the prophets. When I was eight, I remember, a young woman teacher was telling us about the Ten Commandments.

"Thou shalt not kill."

A little girl beside me spoke up and said, "But don't Christians fight in wars?"

"Yes," said the teacher, "but that is an exception."

I did not understand.

Though not pacifists, my parents did not want America to go to war. But when war came, they told me I must not say anything against it. I was nearly thirteen. I still did not understand.

I heard brotherhood preached every Sunday. But the Negroes in our town went to a separate church, and sat in a special balcony at the movies. I did not understand.

"I didn't understand"

When I was eighteen, I thought that it was strange that people should only be after more and more money, and when some people couldn't make profits, other people didn't have jobs. We had been taught we should all help everyone.

I didn't understand.

I saw the newsreels of the war. I saw Japanese soldiers sprayed with flaming jelly and burned alive. Some in the audience cheered. I didn't.

"Love your enemies." I did not understand.

I was seventeen.

I went to the University the next year and was put in the compulsory Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the army. We were taught how war is waged, how to march like a precision machine.

But we weren't machines.

I was nineteen, and I still did not understand.

The next two years there were nights I did not sleep. You had those sleepless nights younger than I.

There were nights and days in which I felt torn inside. Little by little the answers came.

This led to a prison sentence for civil disobedience to military conscription as a means of taking a principled position against war.

Our world is torn between its own convictions. It believes at the same time two sets of ideals and ideas.

That is why you have had your beliefs destroyed. That is why our world has so much trouble.

Whenever we say that wrong and unjust methods are necessary to get a good end, we are wrong. War cannot bring real peace. Hatred cannot bring love. Tyranny cannot bring freedom.

Most of our world seems not to know that. That is why politics and Governments do things we do not understand.

A faith that forces one to shift one's belief of what is right and wrong, is a shallow faith. A faith is needed that can give one a sense of certainty in a world of turmoil.

"We're on the way"

If one meets his social responsibility by actions based on moral principle rather than the decisions of a group based on expediency.

NEGATIVE NEGOTIATION

While the conference has been obedient to the urgency of the situation it has also afforded a valuable interval. Britain and France have been given time to perfect the military precautions which the threat calls for.

—Daily Telegraph, August 24, 1956.

Meanwhile Southampton and surrounding area presents a scene that is comparable with the activity which preceded D-Day in June, 1944. Scores of military vehicles are on the move, many of them painted dull yellow, the same colour as that used during wartime desert operations.

—Daily Telegraph, August 25, 1956.

NEXT WEEK is the seventeenth anniversary of the start of World War II; and it is eighteen years since that autumn day when Chamberlain returned from Munich waving his piece of paper by which he had bought, not peace, but a monstrously dishonourable breathing space for building up the armaments for war.

Afterwards, when everything broke down, as was inevitable and war came, the general trend of opinion was that negotiations were useless and had failed because some of those taking part were not to be trusted.

But, in fact, Chamberlain's negotiation with Hitler, was not in the real sense of the word negotiation at all; negotiation means to talk over a matter, or matters, with a view to coming to terms, but naturally that is only possible in an atmosphere in which neither side is being forced, blackmailed, or otherwise intimidated. Negotiation at the point of a revolver is not negotiation; a bargain may be made under such duress, but not one that is likely to be honoured.

★

After the recent talks at Geneva between the heads of the Great Powers it seemed to many that because of the H-bomb a position had been reached in which negotiation, discussions and talks, must in the future take the place of the conception of war as a last resort.

Now, so soon after all the high-sounding words, this so-called "Geneva spirit" seems to have disappeared. Negotiations on the Suez problem have taken place it is true instead of an instant resort to war, but a glance at the headlines in most newspapers the day after the conference ended, could scarcely be called reassuring.

Here are a few of them: "VERY SERIOUS IF TALKS REFUSED" SAYS MR. SELWYN LLOYD. FIVE SUEZ SHIPS TO LOAD THIS WEEK-END. ACTIVITY AT SALISBURY—TROOPS ON THE MOVE. OPERATION MUSKETEER COMMENCES.

Comparisons with the weeks preceding the last war are being made in many leading national journals, and the very name MUSKETEER for the operation which is designed to carry out the despatch of ships and men to the Mediterranean is symbolic of arms and war preparation.

To remember D-day as a day of "liberation" from the hated Nazi occupation, and forget the massacre that took place on those Normandy beaches is part of the business of propaganda for war.

they will be more sound, and give one reason for raising one's head.

Only this time you may not stand in the ranks always, but often alone.

Those who speak of a new world but use the violence of the old order will never achieve it.

There are young people in America, India, Africa, Britain and many parts of the world who are determined to build a new peaceful just world through courageous and peaceful methods.

This is the politics of the future, of eternity.

As you have learned, one cannot feel inner surety by simply accepting the empty words of a sick civilisation.

There is much we do not know, but we who believe in this way of peace, think we are on our way. We invite you to join us.

It is necessary to remember the celebrations when war ceased, and to forget that September 3 seventeen years ago, when the first air-raid warning sent Londoners, clutching their good-for-nothing gasmasks, flying to the inadequate and useless shelter of their homes.

No one really believes that this could happen again; they dare not contemplate it, and so they cling to the paper-thin protection of the Great Deterrent.

★

Yet, in spite of all assurances the fact remains that ships laden with arms and tanks and food for troops are sailing from British ports; men from Salisbury and other barracks are on the march; army lorries camouflaged to look like the sands of the desert roar through England's "green and pleasant land."

Not to make war; oh, no! But to show without a shadow of doubt that "negotiation" is not enough.

It is frequently argued that attempts to negotiate with Hitler were made and failed because he was not to be trusted. But the truth is that negotiation backed by armed force and threats is not negotiation at all. To get agreement by intimidation is neither right nor likely to be profitable.

Words are winged to pierce the enemy's flank if they are not sped with determined intent to find agreement, and produce a formula for peace.

To "agree with thine adversary" is not synonymous with attempting to force agreement where there is none; negotiation is meaningless, and remains a negative process without moral power, so long as there is no basic will to agree.

Negotiation will take the place of war only when this is understood and carried into effect.

En route to China

of the housing showing signs of dreadful squalor.

Nevertheless the shock is always at the magnitude of Communist achievements rather than their failures.

The supreme question is the extent to which in serving the majority the rights of minorities have been sacrificed. What, in the collective gain, is the loss of personal freedom and of human right?

It is a strange and not unimportant reflection that the three great statesmen of modern times, Gandhi, Lenin and Sun-Yet-Sen were all born in the tradition of the tradition of the East, and received much of their later education in the tradition of the West.

Gandhi's favourite books were the Bhagavad Gita and the Gospel of St. John.

Lenin studied in the British Museum. Sun-Yet-Sen was more of a Western man than many born in the West.

All had a good deal of liberalism in them (I shall be laughed at in crediting Lenin with any liberalism, but readers of his life and works will know that it was true until after the attempted assassination.)

It may well be that in a synthesis of Eastern and Western ethics and politics the cure for the world's ills will be found.

Chigwell (Essex) public libraries have refused to take free copies of PN. The chairman of the Libraries Sub-Committee commented: "We have nothing against Peace News but we thought that if we started permitting the display of propaganda in the libraries there will be no end to it . . . it is just that we are against propaganda."

Redundancy: an Indian idea for British trade unions

By PATRICIA RUSHTON

Co-Secretary, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ONE of the surprising features of the recent British Motor Corporation strike is that it should have occurred at all; that in 1956 working men in Britain should have to strike for the principle that those who have contributed to the prosperity of an industry should, at the very least, be entitled to adequate notice and compensation when their labour is no longer needed.

The bitterness of the worker in the BMC strike was accentuated because he recognised that he was the victim of the Government's policy of cutting down car sales at home, after allowing uncontrolled expansion of the industry's production capacity.

It is surprising that the unions do not fight harder for redundancy agreements (including consultation with the unions at the first hint of unemployment, and compensation for loss of work based on length of service) when there was still full employment in the industry and the position of the worker was stronger.

Admittedly one would then have heard protests from the employers about holding industry up to ransom, etc., but the unions should be only too well aware that it is more difficult to negotiate from weakness than from strength, and the bargaining power of the worker is at its weakest when his labour is no longer needed.

MORE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

We may hope, therefore, that workers in other industries will see that their positions are made secure while they are still needed in their industry. It may be argued that compensation is best made in the form of increased unemployment benefit, paid for by increased contributions or from taxation, but only a small number of industries, have widely fluctuating numbers of people employed, and

these are mainly industries where more careful planning and a greater sense of social responsibility could do much to avoid redundancy.

While British workers are fighting for their basic right, it is already accorded to all workers in India. In 1953 an amendment to the Industrial Disputes Act prescribed scales of compensation to be paid to all workers who have been in continuous service for one year or longer, who are laid off or retrenched.

Laying off is only permitted in certain stated conditions, and the rate of compensation is 50 per cent of wages subject to a maximum period of compensation of 45 days in any one year.

In the case of retrenchment one month's notice is required (or wages in lieu) plus compensation equivalent to 15 days average pay for every completed year of service.

While British workers have, of course, many benefits not available to Indian workers, the principle enshrined in the Indian Act, the responsibility of industry to those who contribute to it, is one that could well be considered by our "Christian" employers.

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COMMITMENT

Edited by JOHN FERGUSON

"There are many reasons for which it is easier for us to understand the nature of war than it was for our grandfathers. The contributors to this symposium point out that one of them is our increased sense of the unity of the world. No doubt there have been innumerable wars in which Christians have been found on both sides, but we have not always been conscious of the nature of the situation thus caused. . . . It can hardly be missed, and one of the grave problems that must be faced by the World Council of Churches is 'the possibility of Christian fratricide.' This is one of the factors that have challenged us all to think out afresh what is the Christian attitude to war. . . . In doing it we have discovered how very easy it is to be led astray by statements that sound clear and straightforward, but are in fact ambiguous and even illogical.

"Both pacifists and non-pacifists will find these essays a help towards clear thinking. The contributions at the beginning of the book are perhaps more useful than those at the end, but the reader will be particularly grateful for J. H. Hick's discussion of the ultimate and contingent will of God, E. L. Allen's distinction between commitment and policy, and for John Ferguson's careful examination and analysis of justice and love and the situations in which they conflict. . . . those aspects which are dealt with are important; and they are carefully presented, but honestly, clearly, and with an insight not only into principles, but into the actual situations in which those principles have to be applied. The result is a book that is worthy of careful and attentive reading, and that will help to clarify the minds of all who are concerned about the relation between Christianity and war."

—London Quarterly and Holborn Review.

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